

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3560
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USBERLIN
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 14762

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, TU, UR
SUBJECT: ECEVIT VISIT: POLITICAL DOCUMENT AND
COMMUNIQUE

SUMMARY: SOVIET-TURKISH POLITICAL DOCUMENT,
THE CAPSTONE OF ECEVIT'S VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION,
DOES NOT APPEAR TO DEPART SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THE APRIL,
1972 SOVIET-TURKISH DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. BOTH
SOVIETS AND TURKS SEEM TO HAVE OBTAINED THE DEGREE OF
GENERAL AGREEMENT NECESSARY TO SUIT THEIR RESPECTIVE
PURPOSES, WITHOUT COMPROMISING THEIR OTHER INTERESTS
IN ANY SIGNIFICANT WAY. POLITICAL DOCUMENT EMPHASIZES,
AS DOES JOINT SOVIET-TURKISH COMMUNIQUE, THE IMPORTANCE
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OF ALL PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. JOINT
COMMUNIQUE ALSO NOTES NUMBER OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS
SIGNED DURING VISIT OR TO BE SIGNED IN NEAR FUTURE.
AMONG FORMER IS AGREEMENT ON DELIMITATION OF
CONTINENTAL SHELF IN BLACK SEA. OTHER ASPECTS OF
DETAILED COMMUNIQUE, INCLUDING CYPRUS QUESTION, SEEM
ROUTINE. END SUMMARY.

1. POLITICAL DOCUMENT. TEXT OF LONG-AWAITED POLITICAL DOCUMENT ON PRINCIPLES OF GOOD NEIGHBORLY AND FRIENDLY COOPERATION BETWEEN USSR AND TURKISH REPUBLIC APPEARS IN JUNE 26 PRAVDA. ASSUME DEPT. HAS TEXT. IN GENERAL, THE DOCUMENT SEEMS TO PARALLEL QUITE CLOSELY THE SOVIET-TURKISH DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS SIGNED DURING PODGORNYY'S VISIT TO ANKARA IN APRIL, 1972. FOR EXAMPLE, THE POLITICAL DOCUMENT REPEATS EXACTLY THE 1972 DECLARATION'S LANGUAGE ON REFUSAL TO ALLOW TERRITORY TO BE USED FOR STAGING AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSIVE ACTS AGAINST OTHER STATES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE LOOP HOLE PROVIDED BY BOTH THE DOCUMENT AND THE DECLARATION, IN THE FORM OF LANGUAGE ON THE CONTINUED APPLICABILITY OF OTHER TREATY AND LEGAL OBLIGATIONS AND RIGHTS, APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN CLARIFIED AND STRENGTHENED IN THE PRESENT DOCUMENT.

2. WHAT IS NEW, OF COURSE, IS THE DOCUMENT'S REFERENCE TO, AND INDEED, RELIANCE ON, THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. WE NOTE IN PARTICULAR THE REPEATED USE OF THE PHRASE "IN BALANCED FORM" IN THIS CONTEXT, AS WELL AS THE REFERENCE TO THE "SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE" OF THE TOTALITY AND THE EQUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ALL THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ACT.
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THIS QUALIFYING LANGUAGE REFLECTS, NO DOUBT, SOVIET SENSITIVITY OVER WHAT MOSCOW FEELS TO BE UNDUE WESTERN EMPHASIS ON THE BASKET THREE PROVISIONS OF THE ACT. REFERENCE TO RESPECT FOR "THE WAY OF LIFE" OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AS ONE OF THE BASES FOR THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, ALTHOUGH FORESHADOWED BY SIMILAR LANGUAGE IN THE 1972 DECLARATION, ALSO REFLECTS THIS SENSITIVITY - IN THIS CASE, PERHAPS AS MUCH TURKISH AS SOVIET.

3. JOINT COMMUNIQUE. (BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED) THE DEPT. WILL ALSO HAVE SEEN THE TEXT OF THE JOINT SOVIET-TURKISH COMMUNIQUE (PRAVDA, JUNE 26). THE COMMUNIQUE DESCRIBES THE TALKS IN POSITIVE TERMS, NOTES "EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS" ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS, AND DWELLS AT SOME LENGTH ON DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. IN CONTEXT OF LAST ASPECT, THE POLITICAL DOCUMENT IS SAID TO OPEN "NEW PROSPECTS" FOR BILATERAL COOPERATION. AS IF EMPHASIS WERE NEEDED, COMMUNIQUE AGAIN IDENTIFIES BASIC GOALS OF POLITICAL DOCUMENT AS "COMPLETELY CORRESPONDING" TO HELSINKI

FINAL ACT. THE ACT ITSELF IS FURTHER DISCUSSED IN THE COMMUNIQUE AND ITS "TRANSFORMATION INTO REALITY" IS SEEN AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN PROCESS OF DETENTE. THE "PRIMARY POSITIVE RESULT" OF THE BELGRADE MEETING IS SAID TO BE THE READINESS OF ALL THE BELGRADE PARTICIPANTS TO CONTINUE THIS PROCESS.

4. THE COMMUNIQUE THEN NOTES THE VIEWS OF THE TWO SIDES ON A RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES RANGING FROM DISARMAMENT THROUGH CYPRUS TO THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, AND THE UN. THE LANGUAGE ON CYPRUS IS

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CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED TO OFFEND NONE OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES IN THAT DISPUTE.

5. PERHAPS OF MORE INTEREST IS THE COMMUNIQUE'S LIST OF AGREEMENTS WHICH WERE SIGNED OR ARE TO BE SIGNED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. AMONG ITEMS DISCUSSED OR AGREED UPON WERE:

-- AGREEMENT ON CONTINENTAL SHELF DELIMITATION IN THE BLACK SEA;

-- POSSIBLE AGREEMENT ON QUESTION OF TRAFFIC CONTROL IN BLACK SEA;

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-- QUESTION OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH TURKEY (TO BE EXAMINED AT MOSCOW MEETING OF BILATERAL COMMISSION ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN SEPTEMBER);

-- AGREEMENT TO INSTRUCT "COMPETENT ORGANIZATIONS" TO PREPARE QUICKLY LONG TERM AGREEMENT ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND TRADE RELATIONS;

-- AGREEMENT ON SIGNING "IN NEAREST FUTURE" A THREE YEAR TRADE AGREEMENT (ENVISAGING A 2-2 1/2 TRADE TURNOVER INCREASE);

-- PROGRAM OF CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE FOR 1978-1980. (END UNCLASSIFIED)

6. COMMENT: BOTH SIDES HAVE REASON TO BE PLEASED WITH POLITICAL DOCUMENT: SOVIETS, IN THAT THEY HAVE FINALLY OBTAINED FORMAL, DETAILED STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS FOR WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN PRESSING, AND TURKS, WHO GAVE SOVIETS FORM OF AGREEMENT WHILE PINNING MOST OF SUBSTANCE TO HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THAT SOVIETS MUST HAVE HAD DIFFICULTY WITH THIS APPROACH IS INDICATED BY CAREFUL LANGUAGE ON "BALANCED FORM," ETC., WITH WHICH THE DOCUMENT HEDGES ITS RELIANCE ON THE FINAL ACT.

7. ABOUT U.S.-TURKISH PROBLEM, THERE IS, NOT SURPRISINGLY, NOT A WORD. ECEVIT, ASKED BY U.S. JOURNALISTS ABOUT THE SIGNAL WHICH ALL OF THIS IS SUPPOSED TO CONVEY TO THE AMERICANS, WOULD SAY ONLY THAT IN VIEW OF THE RECENT "POSITIVE DEVELOP-
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MENTS" IN THE U.S. CONGRESS, IT WOULD BE BEST IF HE DID NOT COMMENT. NONETHELESS, THE CLEAR SIGNAL WHICH BOTH SIDES FOR DIFFERENT REASONS

PROBABLY WISHED TO BE CONVEYED TO WASHINGTON IS
THAT GUARDEDLY CORDIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE
TWO NEIGHBORS CAN, WHEN THE INCENTIVES ARE STRONG
ENOUGH, BE ESTABLISHED. TOON

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